

*H Great Britain
Commons House*

OBSERVATIONS
ON THE
REPORT
OF THE
Committee of Secrecy.



L O N D O N :

Printed for J. ROBERTS, near the Oxford Arms in
Warwick-Lane. MDCCXV.

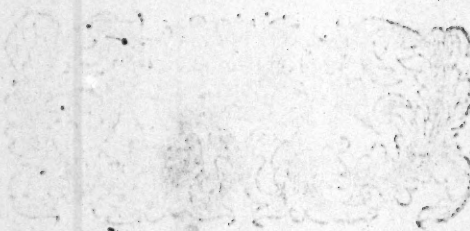
Price One Shilling.

OF THE

ON THE

REPORT

OF THE



LONDON

Printed by J. B. G. & Co. 10, Abchurch Lane, London, E.C. 4.

OBSERVATIONS ON THE REPORT OF THE Committee of Secrecy.

I Was satisfy'd by the Accounts we had before the *Report* was publish'd, that it would be *Voluminous*, from the great Number of Papers which were laid before the *Committee*, and the abundant Matter that must necessarily be found in it on the Subjects of their Enquiries, the Male and Treacherous Administration of the late *Managers*. And being sensible, that some Men out of a Narrow Spirit would not Purchase the *Report* at large; that others out of Indolence would not read it over so exactly as it ought to be Read; and others out of Incapacity or Disaffection would make a wrong Judgment of Things, that requir'd some Time to be well appriz'd of, I resolv'd to give the World a fair and short Representation of the Matter, with such *Observations* as fell naturally from the Subject; that every Body might readily and easily inform themselves of what it is so necessary they shou'd know, how we were Abus'd and Betray'd by the displaced *Ministers*. I never doubted but that the late blessed Treaty of Peace was *Clandestine* and *Separate*, from the Beginning; and it now appears to be so with a Vengeance; tho' at first the *Ministers* pretended to make some sort of *Communication* of it to the *States-General* by the *Secretary St. John's* Letter to the Lord Raby of the 27th of *April*, to accompany the Propositions Monsieur de Torcy sent from *France*, dated the 22d of the same Month; of which I must observe, that the *French Minister* himself Answers the Charge made by the late *Managers* against the *Dutch*, That they offer'd to treat privately and separately with *France*; and this they said to excuse their own doing it, as if they had done no more than the *Dutch* did before them, and were ready to do again. M. de Torcy on the contrary says in his *French Propositions*, After the Experience the King has made of those who now govern the Republick of Holland, and of their Industry to render the Negotiations fruitless, he is willing for the Publick Good to Address to the English Nation. Here the *French King* declares the *Dutch Ministers* to be faithful and firm to the Common Cause; and far from hearkning to any Terms Separately from their Confederates, they were always industrious in their Endeavours to carry on the War to reduce the Exorbitant Power of *France*. This Testimony is the strongest that can be to prove the Honesty and Sincerity of the *Dutch*, and that they never did, and never would have enter'd into any *Separate Negotiation*, or any one at all in favour of *France*, had they not been forc'd to it by our *Ministers*. And why did not his most Christian Majesty think fit to Address to *England* before, when he had found the *Dutch* so steady in the Prosecution of that just and Necessary War? We shall see That in the Course of these *Observations*; which will shew, that he did it as soon as Men were employ'd in the Ministry in *England*, whose Characters and Interests were such, as he doubted not would dispose them to do any thing for his own Interest, on which theirs so much depended. These Propositions of Mr. de Torcy were so loose and general, that had not the *French King* been sure our *Ministers* wanted only to be ask'd, and he might have what he wou'd of them, he wou'd never have ventur'd to have impos'd such Stuff on them. He does not there offer to own the *Queen's* Title, or the Right of the *Protestant Successor*.

He does not speak a word of the *Spanish Monarchy* in favour of the House of *Austria*; but in the IVth Article takes it for granted, that his Grandson King *Philip* is to remain King of *Spain*. He offers indeed to treat jointly with the *Dutch*, but that was because he cou'd not imagine the late *Ministers* wou'd betray their Country so far as to abandon *Allies* whose *Interests* their Sovereign declar'd inseparable from her own. But as ill as he thought of their Abilities and Integrity, he was mistaken; for we shall find that it came from our *Ministers* to have a *Clandestine* and *Separate* Treaty, that we insisted that it shou'd be such a one, before *France* durst presume to mention it: For *Prior* was order'd to enter into an Engagement with the *French* Ministers, that the Secret should be inviolably kept; and so indeed it was, for notwithstanding the *Queen* had, as the Lord *Raby* says, assur'd the *Dutch*, and by himself too, that *She* wou'd make no Step towards a Peace, but in Concert with them; yet did they never hear one word more of the Matter from our Ministers, till *Mesnager's* Seven Preliminary Articles, from which our Court, and the *French* Court, wou'd never depart, were concluded five Months after. Now I desire leave to demand of any Man in *Great Britain*, whether this is not only a notorious Breach of the Promise the *Ministers* had made the *Dutch* by the Lord *Raby*; but what is worse, a most scandalous and fatal Infraction of the Eighth Article of the *Grand Alliance*, That neither of the *Allies* shall treat of Peace with the Enemy, but in Conjunction and Communication with the other. This therefore is an unquestionable Breach of the most Solemn Treaty, and a Falsification of her Majesty's Royal Word, which were attended with the most destructive Consequences, such as all the Confederates have felt, and are still feeling. And what the *Advisers* and *Actors* of such an Infamous and Ruinous Treaty are Guilty of, and Deserve, let every Man of common Sense and common Honesty determine. How Plumb those *Ministers* fell into this wicked Negotiation, may be seen by what the Lord *Raby* wrote to the Secretary *St. John*, You may be sure, says he, I will venture any thing, and undertake any thing; you may venture boldly to trust me with the real Intentions. God have mercy! This is something like. I will not ask whether this Peace be agreeable to the *Queen's* Treaties with Her *Allies*; I will not enquire into the Advantages that will accrue to *France* by it; I will not boggle at the Addresses of the *Parliament* against it. No, I will do any thing, and undertake any thing; and if you tell me what you will have done, I will not make farther use of it than you will have me, than according to my Instructions. Dispose of me how you please, all my desire is to serve to Satisfaction, and shall never grudge any Danger and Pains. What Danger cou'd there be in executing Orders for the good of our Country? 'Tis plain his Lordship did believe the Secretaries real Intentions were quite contrary, and there would be Danger in following his Instruction, but he would notwithstanding go thorough-fitch. And for what Reason? We have it in the very beginning of the Negotiations, He had begg'd of the *Queen* to be made an Earl, and it was granted immediately; for Mr. *St. John* tells him, Her Majesty had design'd to give him the Peerage he desir'd. Nothing for nothing. 'Tis in Answer to this Letter of the Secretary, that the New Earl that was to be, gives himself, as one may say, Body and Soul to the late *Ministers*; For all this was done and said Four Months before he spoke one Syllable more of the Treaty to the *Dutch*, notwithstanding he had been in *England*, had got his Earldom, and did no doubt know Mr. *St. John's* real Intention. I think this is venturing and undertaking any thing with a Witness. Tho' Monsieur de *Torcy* had sent over the Propositions before spoken of, yet we do not find that any Person above the Character of a Letter-Carrier had been in *England*. However, in the midst of the most glorious Successes that ever the Arms of a Nation were blest with, do the *Ministers* procure Mr. *Prior* to be sent to *France* with Instructions for Demands, which surely were never intended to be insisted upon, because some of those Articles were Contradictory to others, as particularly, That all our *Allies* should be satisfy'd according to their Agreements and Treaties with us.

Now by our Treaties with the *Emperor*, our Treaties with the *Dutch* and *Portugal*, *Spain* and the *West-Indies* were to be recover'd for the House of *Austria*, and no part of it to be left in the Possession of any Prince of the House of *Bourbon*. Yet is Mr. *Prior* order'd to propose a Treaty with King *Philip*, for he is to take special care of the full Powers from *Spain*.

Thus it appears, that Mr. *Prior* was the first Agent of the Peace that was employed in it; that he was sent by our *Ministers* to *France*: And to be the first Agents in such a Business is virtually to sue for it. And that he was sent with Instructions

ons to treat with Philip as King of Spain, contrary to all our solemn *Treaties*, contrary to all *Speeches* and *Declarations* from the *Throne*, contrary to all *Addresses* and *Representations* of the *Parliament* and *People* of *Great-Britain* to that time, and contrary to the *Tenor*, *Interest*, and *Safety* of the *Nation*. This, in my poor Opinion, is sufficient to make these *Agents* accountable to *National Justice*, and oblige *Prior* to bring forth the *Advisers* and *Promoters* of this dangerous Step, for they were all so cunning as to avoid setting their Names to such *Instructions*; and counter-signing, as is usual for *Ministers* to do; contenting themselves with putting *A. R.* on the Top to screen them from the Justice which it is hop'd will effectually pursue them.

What I shall take notice of in the next Place is very extraordinary, and that is, the *French King's* being more concern'd for the *Interests* of the *Allies* than our late *Managers*. Monsieur *Mesnager* had Orders to insist, That the *Queen* shou'd enter into *Engagements* upon divers *Articles* which regard the *Allies*. But our *Ministers* declare, That the Principle upon which they had treated all along, and from which the *Queen* could never depart, was to adjust the *Interest* of *Great-Britain* in the first Place, and remit the *Discussion* of the particular *Interest* of the *Allies* to another Time. This they said was of *absolute Necessity*. Pray let every honest Reader take special notice of this; for that we were told afterwards from the *Throne*, that 'Twas *Fatious* and *Seditious* to imagine there was a *separate Treaty*, and by the then *Lord Treasurer*, that such a *Treaty* would be *Foolish*, *Knawish*, and *Villainous*. We have now seen, that there not only was such a one, but that our *Ministers* wou'd have it so, after the *French* had offer'd first to treat *jointly* with the *Dutch*, &c. and then insisted upon it, to determine in the *Preliminaries* divers *Articles* which regarded the *Interest* of the *Allies*; but our *Ministers* would not it seems hear of it; and they must not be angry with me, that their *Primo* the *Treasurer* called them *Fools*, *Knaves*, and *Villains* for it in the *House of Lords*.

I have observ'd, that Mr. *Prior* has been sent to *France*, and on what Errand, of which the *Dutch* knew nothing, tho' in *April*, Two Months before, our *Ministers* promis'd to do what they were oblig'd to do by *Treaties*, every Thing in Concert with them. And Four Months after that Promise Mr. *Prior* returns with a very fine Compliment upon his *Talents* by Monsieur *Torcy*, and brings with him Monsieur *Mesnager*, of which the *Dutch* still knew nothing. And without any previous *Authority* of the *Queen* to enter into so treacherous, so dishonourable, and ruinous a *Treaty*, the *Earl of Oxford* *Lord Treasurer*, the *Lord Chamberlain*, the *Lord Dartmouth*, Mr. *St. John*, and Mr. *Prior*, give him a Meeting to treat with the common *Enemy*, without Concert, against the *Interest* of our *Allies*. Accordingly, the 20th of *September* they met at Mr. *Prior's* House: And that they had not the *Queen's Authority*, appears by a Letter of Secretary *St. John* to Her Majesty, wherein he tells her of this Meeting as a Piece of News, which sure she wou'd have been better acquainted with had she given Her Warrant for it. In this Letter of the Secretary's we have indeed an extraordinary Piece of News, that *Mesnager's* *Preliminaries* were as good as they had ever desir'd they should be; that those Terms were as advantageous for us as their own Hearts wish'd, and as *Prior* was order'd to demand; for he says, *They comply'd with every Article of his Demands except the 8th relating to North America; which Point, he adds, they should be able to compound;* but never did; altho' *Plantations* in *North-America* being left more expos'd to be destroy'd by the *French* than ever they were, as is known to every Soul that has any the least Knowledge of the Situation of our Affairs there. That they had no *Authority* for this Meeting appears further by this very Letter, wherein Mr. *St. John* desires, *post facto*, that a *Warrant* and full Powers should be prepared for them, not only to treat but to sign. And there is something more in the same Letter of the 20th of *September* to the *Queen*, which shews how they assum'd the *Authority Royal*. They take on them to name the *Plenipotentiaries* themselves at this Meeting. The *Queen* did not know who they were to be, till she saw a *Warrant* sent her to Sign, for the *Lord Harcourt* to put the Great Seal to a Commission for these *Plenipotentiaries*. The Secretary tells her Majesty that *Prior* is one of them, and the rest are all those who have the Honour to sit in your Majesty's *Cabinet Council*. This *Warrant* is Dated the 17th of *September* Three Days before they met, and is thus ante-dated to justify that Meeting. What can be a plainer Proof of their acting on the 20th without Her Majesty's Authority? And will any one after this, pretend to excuse ever a one of those *Plenipo's* who assisted at it. But the Truth is, it appears, P. 5. That these secret Negotiations between *France* and

the Queen's Ministers, were begun and carry'd on from the 11th of April to the 25th of September, 1711, without any Powers or written Authority from the Queen. So that the Treaty is the sole Act and Deed of those Ministers; who are further chargeable with it after they had procur'd these Powers, as the *Advisers* and *Promoters* of it. For Secretary St. John professes in the before-mention'd Letter, that the accepting of *Mefnager's* Articles was the *unanimous Opinion* of all the Ministers at the Meeting at Prior's; who however were so conscious of the Danger of appearing in so foul a Business that they would not sign the Paper of *Acceptation* of *Mefnager's Preliminaries*, leaving it to the Two Secretaries; nor one Paper of Powers and Instructions during the whole Negotiation. Thus it is plain they knew what they were doing, and resolv'd from the very Beginning to secure themselves by the A. R. on the Top of their Papers, whether the Queen knew of it or not.

The Preliminaries accepted of, occasion'd such a Clamour that I shall not enter into a particular Examination of them: When they were afterwards put into the Offers of France at Utrecht, they were term'd *Arrogant* and *Injurious* to Her Majesty, by the Lord Halifax and other Peers in the House of Lords; and an Address was presented against them. 'Tis sufficient to be observ'd, that the *Demolition* of Dunkirk and the *Affiento* were the only Articles which look'd favourably for England; and how we were to be bubbled in both, has appear'd so flagrantly since, that those Two Articles are become a new Charge against the late Ministers, by their selling our Commerce to Spain, and suffering the French King to build a stronger Harbour within 100 Yards of Dunkirk. The Ministers own that Monsieur de Torcy had promis'd them better Things, *real Securities*, P. 6. but for the Love of Peace they will consent to what they confess is none, to accept of an *Equivalent* instead of Places; and they press the French Court to adjust these Articles; not because they are for the Interest of England, which was never in their Hearts, but because they might have nothing more to dispute with then, and be enabled to serve them, under Pretence, That France had agreed to every Thing desir'd by England, that they might engage the Queen to make the Conclusion of the General Peace easy to France. These scandalous Articles were thought by France more than She need give Us, we having expos'd our selves by entring into so treacherous a Negotiation with Her; and if the Queen did not now do as the French King thought fit, "He had it in his Power, by divulging the Secret, and discovering such a notorious Breach of National Faith, to make what Advantage he pleas'd of it among the Allies, who must from this Time think themselves disengaged from the Queen, if they could find their own Account by looking after themselves, p. 67.

The Truth is, the French treated their New Friends as a Parcel of Scoundrels, whose Characters and Safety were not worth minding. And on purpose to make still a better Market of them, they themselves did what our Ministers would not do, inform the Dutch, that they had begun a Negotiation with England, as may be seen in a Letter of Lord Raby's, of the 20th of June. When such Steps as these had been taken, what could they hope to do for the Interest of the Allies? They had put it into the Power of France at once to give the Law in the Peace; and their whole Proceedings shew that this was their Design at the Commencement of it, to weaken the Confederates, and leave the French King in a Capacity to begin a New War, when it was convenient to Support the Pretender, whose Ministers they doubtless were as ready to be, as the Servants of the Prince they were betraying: If it is Treason to betray Her Council to Her Enemy.

For before Her Majesty had declar'd that She was about so much as entring into a Treaty of Peace to Her Confederates, does Mr. St. John write to Monsieur de Torcy, p. 7. That he had fully inform'd Mr. Mefnager of what the Earl of Strafford was to tell the States of Holland. This Mefnager was the Minister of the Queen's Enemy, with whom She was at War, and against whom She order'd the same States to be told Six Months after, That She had commanded Her General to Act with the utmost Vigour. If this is not treasonable, I believe the Lawyers will find it very hard to cut Treason out of Politicks. The Lord Strafford was at the same time to carry with him a New Scheme for carrying on the War against the Prince, to whose Minister Mr. St. John had given such full Informations. — For God's Sake let me know if there is any Name for this Crime but what is Capital.

It having

It having been urg'd, That the Dutch were as willing to come into the Treaty as We; that they approv'd of the French Preliminaries with respect to themselves, and were not forc'd to comply with the Queen against their Inclination and Interest: Let it be remember'd, That after they were made acquainted with the Progress of the Negotiations, and Passports were demanded of them for French Plenipotentiaries to come to treat of a Peace; before they would grant them they sent Monsieur Buys to complain of Her Majesty's Resolutions about their Trade and Barrier. They did the same to the Lord Strafford; but Mr. St. John wrote to him, the Queen was determin'd in Her Measures, so early as the 9th of October; and the 22d of November, That the Queen would not concert the Plan of the War unless they joyn with Her to open the Conferences; and the Lord Strafford, who had promis'd to undertake any Thing, and venture any Thing, declar'd to them, The Queen would look upon any Delay as a Refusal. Thus were they bully'd out of Passports; and their Interests, which were so Inseparable from our own, abandon'd to the Discretion of Monsieur de Torcy, &c. and Mr. St. John, &c.

One may well imagine, That enough has been said of our acting in Concert; however, I shall give one Instance more of it, which is a very extraordinary one. Two Months after Mesnager had been in England, and it was reported that Her Majesty had taken Care of all the Interests of the Allies, a Memorial was given to the Abbot Gualtier, and a Letter written by Mr. St. John to Monsieur de Torcy, to desire that the Most Christian King would explain himself as to His Intention, with respect to the Interest of the Allies; for they were entirely Ignorant of those very Interests which they had assur'd the World they had amply provided for. And in the same Letter, Mr. St. John tells the French Secretary, That if he would let the Queen know those His Majesty's Intentions, p. 8. She would never communicate it to Her Allies; to whom Her Majesty was bound to communicate all such Transactions, and to do every Thing in Conjunction, and by Communication with them, as has been sufficiently prov'd already.

In the Answer to Mr. St. John's Memorial, far from taking Care of the Interests of the Allies, the Emperor is stripp'd of all his Dominions in Italy, and nothing is said of the Netherlands, &c. Yet this Declaration is receiv'd with great Satisfaction. Mr. St. John writing to Monsieur de Torcy, That it was necessary all those that wish'd well to the Peace should mutually help one another, and endeavour to finish the Treaty so soon as not to be expos'd to another Campaign, p. 1. Monsieur de Torcy must Help him, and He must Help Monsieur de Torcy, while the Earl of Strafford is venturing and undertaking every Thing to force the Confederates into the Measures the French and English Ministers are helping one another to Accomplish.

Tho' Mr. Prior was, in his private Instructions, to be very careful to get full Powers from the King of Spain, yet the Bishop of Bristol, and the Earl of Strafford, in their Instructions as Plenipotentiaries at Utrecht, p. 9. are enjoyn'd to insist publicly that Spain and the West-Indies should not be allotted to any Branch of the House of Bourbon, notwithstanding this Point had been given up privately Six Months before.

At the same Time that the Earl of Strafford was insulting the States, Monsieur Gualtier assures our Ministers that His Master's principal Order to His Plenipotentiaries when they set out for Utrecht, was to establish a strict Intimacy between them, and the Ministers of the Queen of Great-Britain, p. Ibid.

I have observ'd more than once, what was the Earl of Strafford's Conduct in Holland. I must observe further, That upon the French Ministers delivering in their first Offers at Utrecht, and those of the Allies receiving them with Indignation, he writes that the French wish they had offer'd to Demolish St. Venant, p. 10. But our Ministers far from requiring such an Article, continu'd their strict Intimacy on the old Plan, and would not let the French do so much for the Allies as they themselves were willing to do to hasten the Peace. The Earl adds, he had press'd the French Plenipotentiaries to be as ample as they could in their Explication, not to serve the Interests of the Confederates; nor for the Honour of his Mistress, who had bound her self, and promis'd again and again to Support them; not that he desir'd they should do what they said; but to stop the Mouths of the Whigs, who rail'd at their Offers in England, and amuse the English, and all the Allies. His Words are, To strike the Minds of Unthinking People, and make some Work for Reflection for the Faction, p. Ibid. By Unthinking People his Lordship does not mean Fools, but those that could not think it was possible that this Nation could produce a Set of Men, who after such an Immense Loss of Blood and Treasure, would enter into a strict Intimacy with the French, to destroy all the good Effects of

it, and put the Affairs of the Confederacy upon a Worse Foot than they were after the Peace of *Ryswick*.

We all remember what Pains were taken to procure a *House of Commons* that would do the Work of the then *Managers*; what Tumults; what Riots; what Bribery; what Partiality of Returning Officers: Yet that very *House of Commons* were shock'd at the Proceedings of those *Managers*, till by some Means or other they were perfectly secur'd to the *Queen's Interest*, as the Secretary writes to the *Plenipotentiaries*; and adds, *He thinks he may say they are so now*. Tho' this *Management* could not but be very grateful to the *French Court*, yet to secure the *House of Commons* was not thought sufficient in *France*, unless the *House of Lords* was as perfectly secur'd also. Therefore *Monsieur de Torcy* says, by *Abbot Gualtier*, p. 10. *The King of France assur'd himself, that those who now manage with so much Capacity the Affairs of the Queen of Great-Britain, know how to curb the Passion of the Turbulent Party in the other House*. The surest Way to cheat a Man, is to flatter him on his Cunning; and this Method was practis'd by the *French* with respect to the late *Ministers*. *Prior* is extoll'd for his *Talents*. *St. John* for his *Genius and Vivacity*; tho' the *French* were all the while making the greatest Fools of them that ever Men were made. The Hint of curbing the *Turbulent Party in the House of Lords*, which came from the *French King*, was follow'd by making a whole Dozen of Peers in a Morning, and was a Proceeding worthy the *Maxims* of the Prince that hinted it.

Mr. Harley, another Man of *Talents*, is sent over to meet *Mr. Gualtier* at *Utrecht*, and to carry the *Queen's first Instructions*, in Expectation of which, the *British Plenipotentiaries* are at a Stop. In the mean Time, a Conference is held between the *Ministers* of the *Allies*, at which they were to produce their Demands. All of them insisted on the restoring *Spain and the Indies to the House of Austria* except the *British*, whose Instructions we have spoken of before. They did not at this Conference make the least mention of it; which they themselves thought so very Offensive, that to take off this Odium, the *Bishop of Bristol* own'd Her Majesty insist'd on a just and reasonable Satisfaction for all Her *Allies*, &c. And to excuse his giving a kind of a Hint of *Spain*, the Two *Plenipotentiaries* humbly hope, in their Letter of the 6th of *March*, 1711-12, *That it will not be taken ill, because Just and Reasonable does not import any New Obligation*. I mention this, for that the Terms *Just and Reasonable* were always made use of when the Satisfaction for the *Allies* was touch'd upon; as *Safe and Honourable*, was us'd when the Peace was spoken of; and both, as the *Plenipo's* observe, to signify nothing. Indeed all the Formality of treating at *Utrecht* was Grimace, and the *Bishop* and *Earl* say as much in their Letter, p. 11. *The French Plenipotentiaries say they knew well, their Business was not to be done at Utrecht, but by a Negotiation carry'd on directly betwixt London and Versailles*. Which is another Instance of our Acting in Concert, and providing for the Interests of our *Allies*. The Truth is, every Step of that Negotiation was false and affected, as it concern'd Us and the Confederacy.

A few Days after *Harley* and *Gualtier* arrive at *Utrecht*, the *French Plenipotentiaries* communicate to the *Bishop* and *Earl* a Plan for a General Peace, under the Highest Obligations of Secrecy. The *British Plenipo's* take it as a general Mark of Confidence *France* had in them, and promise according to the Sacred Laws of Concert, that the *Allies* shall not know a Word of it, p. 11. The good Men go so far as to send it to the Secretary with the same Caution, tho' it had been first agreed upon in *England*, and sent by *Harley* to *Utrecht*, and so by *Gualtier* to *France*. No Communication of this Plan was made to the States, tho' their Interests, and the Interests of all the *Allies* were settled by it. *Mr. Harley* is order'd to let drop the Offer of 15 per Cent on *British Manufactures*, one of the Bribes to *England* to come into this Destructive Peace. But tho' it was owing entirely to the Insincerity of *France*, Yet 'twas to be done in such a Manner as to render this constrain'd Concession of the *Queen's* a Means of bringing the *Dutch* to Reason, and to a Compliance with Her Majesty's Measures, p. 12. which they had no Knowledge of. The *French Ministers* all this while suspended the Conferences, by refusing to answer the Demands of the *Allies*; and the *Earl of Strafford* being sent for to *England*, he who was to venture and undertake any Thing, has fresh Instructions, wherein he is order'd to tell the *Dutch* when he gets to *Holland* again, That unless they come immediately into the *Queen's Measures*, and acted openly and sincerely, She would look upon Her Self to be under no Obligation whatsoever to them. 'Tis to be question'd whether this adventurous Enterprising

prizing *Plenipo* knew much more of the Matter, than that the *Dutch* knew nothing of it at all ; yet he boldly undertakes this Message, and makes this Sort of renouncing our Alliance with the *Dutch*, before ever we had come to a Conclusion of any Treaty with *France*, no, not that of a *Cessation of Arms*. This Declaration was to prepare the Way for the Latter to be introduc'd by a Desertion from the Army of the Allies, which was the Part the Duke *Ormond* was to Act in this Honourable Affair.

I shall now treat of the above-mentioned *Cessation of Arms*, and the *Renunciation* of King *Philip* of the Crown of *France*, &c. The Monarchy of *Spain* was all along promis'd to be restor'd to the House of *Austria* in the Publick Acts of our Court ; in the Private Ones with *France*, the Treaty had been a Foot almost a Twelvemonth before our Ministers said a Syllable of it ; and then instead of taking *Spain* and the *West-Indies* from the House of *Bourbon*, they only demand a solid Security for the *Balance of Power*, and the *Liberties of Europe*, that the Two Monarchies of *France* and *Spain* should be never united, and desired no other Security for that Demand but King *Philip's* *Renunciation*. This Expedient was the Invention of the late *Managers* ; and they were not acquainted with the Sense of either *France* or *Spain* upon it. When they started it in their Answer to a Memorial brought by Monsieur *Gualtier*, the 23d of *March*, 1711. Monsieur *Torcy* declares in the strongest Terms, That such a *Renunciation* would signify nothing, as being Null by the *Laws of France*. And St. *John* says in Answer to it, *We are ready to believe you are persuaded in France that God alone can abolish the Law upon which your Right of Succession is founded*. Yet does he insist upon it as a *Solid Foundation*, and threatens that a Stop will be put to the Negotiations of Peace, unless that Expedient, which was the Queen's own Proposal, be accepted of, or something equally Solid, P. 12. Something of the Solidity of a Thing, which whoever should accept of it would deceive themselves to receive it as a sufficient Expedient to prevent the Union of the Two Crowns, as Monsieur *de Torcy* said himself. Yet did our Ministers push on this *Renunciation* as if it had been the most Solid Business that could be invented ; tho' the French King, as honest a Man as his Grandson, had broken Twenty *Renunciations* already to the same Purpose ; and Mr. St. *John* had fair Warning given him, that all the *Renunciations* then demanded would be served in the same Manner. With much ado, and after several Letters had pass'd from one Secretary to another on this Subject, the Frenchman comes into Mr. St. *John's* Expedient ; and it is agreed between them, that King *Philip* for the sake of Peace shall do a Thing, which when done, would be of no manner of signification. If he would not renounce, he must quit *Spain* and accept of the Duke of *Savoy's* Territories, who in such Case was to have the *Spanish Monarchy*. The Emperor, for whom we had been fighting Ten Years, is not so much as nam'd even in this Foolish, Impertinent Scheme, worthy the wise Head that made it, for cou'd the Secretary have any doubt that *Philip* wou'd not give him a *Renunciation*, rather than part with *Spain* and the *Indies* ? I really believe he would have given it him for a *Windmill*, the Portion of *Spain* he denied the Allies before he had been beaten by them. While *Torcy* is laughing at St. *John's* ridiculous Expedient, the latter is very gravely insisting upon it ; but before he shall be sure of this good-for-nothing Security, this sandy Solidity, he must be brought to consent to a *Cessation of Arms* ; for it would be very unhappy, says *Torcy*, when he tells him the French King had at last agreed to that notable Alternative, if any Event during the Campaign should fall out to disturb the good Dispositions that are seen at present for establishing the Publick Repose ; that is, if his Master's Army shou'd be well bang'd again ; for it cou'd not enter into their Thoughts to beat the Allies ; in such Case the Emperor and the *Dutch* wou'd be sure not to come in to the Queen's Measures, but do their own Business themselves. We shall find that our Court took effectual care, thanks to the Duke of *Ormond*, to hinder any such unhappy Event as the French Secretary speaks of. As soon as ever Secretary St. *John* had got the Promise only of this his solid Security, he sent Orders to our *Plenipo's* to declare to the *Dutch*, That the Queen was now under no further Obligations whatsoever to them.

There was but one Expedient which could have made this *Renunciation* any tolerable Security, and that was by a general Guaranty of all the Confederates. This was render'd impracticable by our Usage of them, their Jealousies of us, and the little confidence they had in us : But if that Security could have been made better than it was, our Ministers wou'd not have had it. For the British *Plenipotentiaries* suggesting to the Secretary St. *John*, upon some Discourse with the *Marschal de*

Uniles

Unelles at Utrecht, that it wou'd be proper for *Philip* to renounce also the *Regency of France*; that good Man did not so much as mention it, for fear of obstructing the *Negotiations*: For *France* he knew wou'd give 'em nothing more than the useless Words she had promis'd them.

The *Secretary* did not manage this Affair wholly by himself; the *Treasurer* wrote also to *Torcy* about it, and had done it oftner, had it not been for his *Sore Eyes*; which the *Frenchman* no sooner heard of, but it grieves him to the Soul, and he earnestly prays he may soon recover: *It being very Important*, says the *Frenchman*, that those who like *Mr. St. John* and *Him* had had the principal Share in the Work of the Peace, should have the Glory of finishing it. And may they, Oh Righteous Heaven have also the Reward!

I have also hinted, that immediately upon the Receipt of *Monfieur de Torcy's* Letter with the *French King's* Promise to get the *Renunciation* from his Grandson, the *British General* is taken in to act his Part; and Orders are sent him by *Mr. Secretary* to avoid engaging in a Siege, or hazarding a Battel. Which Orders that Popular Duke obey'd without Hesitation, and with as much Satisfaction as if it had been to have march'd to *Paris*. But those Orders are to be disguis'd; the *General* is to deal doubly with the *Generals* of the *Confederate Army*, to prevent their taking any certain and effectual Measures for the good Operations of the Campaign. At the same time that they are to be kept from the *Allies* they are communicated to the *French*; and *St. John* writes to *Prior*, to value himself upon it to *Monfieur de Torcy*: *I will not say that this Order sav'd the French Army from being beat, but I think in my Conscience that it did.*

The next Thing we find this worthy *Secretary* corresponding with the *French Minister* about, is, What a Sort of Speech the *Queen* shou'd make to the *Parliament*, to whom she had promis'd to communicate the *Terms of Peace*. True it was; those *Terms* were then not settled; any more than they were at first by *Prior* and *Mefnager*, and the Nation having declar'd their Abhorrence of them, it was necessary they should be well gloss'd upon to pass even in that High Church *Parliament*. So *St. John* sends Heads of the intended Speech to *Torcy*; and further Demands about our Trade to *North-America*, *Dunkirk*, &c. Thus we see that the famous Speech which opened the Articles of Peace, was in some measure dictated by the *French* themselves. Tho' we had been told a Hundred Times that our Trade was provided for, yet by this Scheme the discussing of it was now postpon'd; and *Mr. St. John* having demanded, to colour the Matter the better, that the *Dutch* should put a Garrison into *Cambray*, for a Suspension of Arms, *Torcy* absolutely denies it, and insists upon it with a very high Tone, that we should without delay procure a Cessation of Arms, General or Particular. He is surpriz'd to hear a Word said in favour of the *Dutch*, which was only a Feint to amuse the *Parliament*; and desires that the *Negotiations* might be carry'd on as they were begun, with an entire Confidence in one another, upon the *Bona Fide*, to use his own Words. 'Tis necessary, adds he, the *Queen* should banish all distrust, and repose an entire Confidence in his Majesty, without insisting on Demands, which may serve only to create Jealousies. If any the least Thing was ask'd for our selves, or our *Confederates*, the *French King* grew jealous immediately: And how did our Ministers behave themselves to get him out of such Fits? Why they did what he would have them. Accordingly, *Mr. St. John* writes to *Mr. de Torcy*, the Day the *Queen* made her Peace Speech, that her Majesty would not defer going to the *Parliament*, and saying what he had intimated before, tho' the King of *France* had not answered Her Demands, which were trivial enough God-wot, after the Proposal about *Cambray* was rejected and given up: But if *Monfieur de Torcy* will get those Demands agreed to, chiefly about delivering up *Dunkirk*, and in the manner we had it deliver'd to us; if he wou'd himself give the Duke of *Ormond* an Account of it, they would then throw off the Mask. And P. 17. Thenceforth openly joyn with *France*, and give Law to those who would not submit to their Conditions. He makes use of the Epithets just and reasonable; but I have shewn already, and it is sufficiently known, that those Epithets, as made use of by the late Ministers, meant either nothing or the quite contrary.

We will not lay all the Load on this Honest *Secretary*, let others have a share of it; and let the Reader take it along with him, that whatever it is to execute Orders, to advise them is cognizable and punishable by the Laws and Practice of *England*. The Earl of *Strafford* complaining to this *Secretary* of the Backwardness of the *Dutch* to come into the *Queen's Peace*, an excellent Phrase they had found

out to guard it from the Reflections and Curses of the People, advises the declaring a Cessation of Arms so early as April, 1712. and upon these groundless Allegations:

The French are better posted than we are; their Army is stronger; the Imperialists will not come up till June; and we shall get by this Cessation. I am satisfy'd there is not one Reader in a thousand so little acquainted with the Posture of Affairs at that Juncture, but he can tell what Judgment to make of the Sincerity and Merit of this Advice.

The Cessation however did not take Effect till the Renunciation was settled; and then the Secretary writes to the Duke of Ormond, *That if he receiv'd an account from M. de Torcy, that the Queen's Demands about Dunkirk, and the Renunciation were answer'd, he was so own he cou'd act no longer against France.* The Account is to come from the French Court; and that Court thought themselves so sure of us, that they sent it Unsign'd, as the Duke owns in his Conduct: They did not care how they dealt by our late Ministers and Generals; they were not Ignorant that they had done what they could not Answer, and so made 'em go on doing till they had got their Ends by them.

It is a Maxim in Law, That no Weaken Obligation can disoblige a Stronger; and it is the same in good Politicks. Now the Duke of Ormond being enjoin'd by his Instructions, Sign'd by the Queen her Self, to Concert the Measures for Action with the Confederate Generals, and to carry on the War with Vigour; let any one judge whether his Grace was discharged from his first Instructions Sign'd by the Queen Her Self, by Letters from Secretary St. John. Tis true, those Instructions did order him to Correspond with the Secretary, and so is every one order'd to do who is sent abroad by the State: That Correspondence implies only the giving and receiving Advice, and not Orders for Action or Non-Action.

St. John presently breaks in upon his Mistress's Instructions, and instead of meeting Prince Eugene, and acting in Concert with him, as those Instructions enjoyns; this hopeful Secretary, in the first Letter we meet with of his to the Duke, and before he knew whether Philip would favour him with his Insignificant Renunciation or not, writes to our General to be jealous of Prince Eugene, to be cautious of engaging in Action; and for fear his Grace should not tell how to carry himself on such an Occasion, he puts an Excuse into his Mouth, *You may pretend to wait till the German Troops are all arriv'd, that they may have their share, if there is to be any Action,* p. 18.

The Duke acts an extraordinary Part in what follows: He owns *he was enjoin'd to prosecute the War with Vigour; but hopes to have a Messenger before the Armies are form'd.* And what can he hope for by this Messenger, but a contrary Order not to Act; which having receiv'd afterwards, he writes two Letters to the Secretary, one to be seen by himself only, and another to shew to all the World: In the former, he says, *He will keep the Order he has, not to engage in a Siege or Battel, Secret; he will endeavour to hinder its being suspected; he will oppose all Proposals that should be made for undertaking any thing.* In the latter, he on the contrary values himself on the good Condition of the British Troops, which must convince all the Allies how groundless the Complaints are, that have been made of our Backwardness. Oh my God! Is not to refuse engaging in a Siege or Battel, to oppose all Proposals for undertaking any thing, to be backward? But those Orders are to be kept secret, and so Secret, that not all the Ministers in England must know any thing of it; and therefore the General in this Letter adds, *If we find an opportunity to bring the Enemy to a Battel, we shall not decline it.* Yet had he Orders in his Pocket to engage in no Battel nor Siege. What is Honour, what is Conscience, if these Things and those are reconcileable? Tho' the Allies were to know nothing of those Secret Orders, Marshal Villars had timely Notice of them; and writing to the Duke of Ormond, after having complimented his Grace on his Valour, he tells him, they were to be no longer Enemies. These Frenchmen knowing the particular Foible of every one of our late Managers, and what each picqu'd himself of most, never fail'd to flatter and coax them on those Heads. Thus they begin with extolling St. John's Vivacity, Harley's Capacity, Prior's Genius, and in this Letter his Grace has an Encomium on his Valour. So that one may very well say the English Ministers, considering what they were doing for Themselves and their Country, were tickled to Death by the French.

I do not enter into the Detail of his Grace's refusing to fight Villars, when, as St. John said, *He believ'd in his Conscience he might have beat him; because that's*

a most melancholy Affair; the whole of our Ruin and Infamy turn'd upon it; and it is too well known to admit of being further expatiated upon; only I find that he gave early Advice to the Marechal, *That the Motion the Confederate Army made, was only for Subsistence, and that he need be under no Apprehension at their March*; which was to give the Enemy Intelligence of the Motions of the Army of the Allies before he talk'd of leaving them. He afterwards gives him Information that the *Generals of the Auxiliaries paid by the Queen would not leave Prince Eugene*. Tho' the Account He received from Monsieur de Torcy, which was sent him by Villars, had no Name to it; tho' there were several Alterations in the Answer to the Queen's Demands, which his Grace had an Notice of; yet did he remain in a State of Inaction, while the Army of the Allies besieg'd *Queboy*. And the Answer sent him by Torcy and Villars, not being agreeable to the Scheme he was inform'd of, and as he was to declare a Cessation, had it been comply'd with, doubtless his Grace might, without breaking *St. John's Order*, have follow'd Her Majesty's; but he chose rather to let the Confederates act against France by themselves, and wait till *St. John* had given him new Orders to desert them.

The *Auxiliaries* refusing to abandon the Army of the Allies to the Mercy of their Merciless Enemies, puzzled our Court a little. But we were sav'd after this mad Peace, that no *Affronts*, no *Baulks*, had any Effect on us; and the Secretary writes to Torcy, *Her Majesty has taken a firm and unalterable Resolution, not to yield to any Difficulties*. You must know that by *Difficulties* are always meant in the Style of the late Ministers, *Memorials of the Injustice and Treachery of their Negotiations; Refusals of the French to do what they promis'd at first for Us and our Allies; Representations of Parliament against the Arrogance and Abuse of the French Ministers*; and in short, every thing just and Reasonable to put a Stop to our Destruction by that Infamous Treaty. In this Letter of *St. John* to Torcy, he gives him Intelligence, That if the *British* Troops leave the Allies, they were so poor they could not pay the *Auxiliaries*. He begs him to get the *Rensurpation*, and an Order for the Delivery of *Dunkirk*: And what is the most unparallel'd Instance of a Scandalous and Traiterous Conduct, he desires Torcy, the Minister of a Prince still an Enemy to his Mistress, p. 22. *To send an Express to the Duke of Ormond, that he may know how to regulate his Conduct*. A Copy of this Letter did he enclose in one to his Grace; and adds by way of Postscript, *I need not caution your Grace that the inclos'd for Monsieur de Torcy is fit to fall under the Eye of no Person whatsoever but your Grace, who it seems had full Communication of the Secret, and did not act with such blind Obedience to the Secretary's Orders as some imagine*.

It is to be observed that the Motion of the Cessation, and all the irregular Steps in these Negotiations, came first from England. This Cessation was a most flagrant *Separate Treaty*; yet is France very importunate with our Court about it, to desert our Allies, and only leave 'em time to submit to the Conditions that shall be agreed on for them between France and England; all which was comply'd with on our Part as soon as an Order came for some of our Troops to be admitted to keep Company with some of the French Kings in *Dunkirk*.

Upon the Duke of Ormond's leaving the Confederate Army, the Marechal de Villars desires his Grace will give him Information, *what Generals and what Troops would stay with him, that knowing the Strength of the Allies, he might fight them, as his Army had a great desire to do, now the British Forces were not with their Confederates*. The Duke does not resent the Marechal's desiring such an ungenerous Action, not to say worse, but says in Answer, "He should be glad he cou'd give him all the Insight he desires, which he shou'd be capable of doing the next Day. And accordingly he did it, and sends Villars an Account, "what Troops he had left with the Confederate Army, what taken with him; "that he had drawn off all the *British* Artillery, and acquainted Prince Eugene, "he cou'd give him no Assistance; as also, that the Pay of the Foreign Troops "was stop'd, and the Emperor and the Dutch could not support the Charge, p. 23. "adding, "I trust, Sir, to your good Faith. And all this before a Cessation of Arms was declar'd. I think it will not bear Reflection. Villars is not satisfy'd in his Letter, to say they are no longer Enemies, but Exaggerates and tells the Duke, *He looks upon him as an Ally*; the Cessation not yet Proclaim'd.

What

What must have been the Consequence of the Duke's carrying off all the Foreigners in *British* Pay with him, as was expected by *France*, and promis'd by *England*? What might not *Villars* have done with *Prince Eugene* first, and with the Duke himself afterwards; for to trust to *French* Faith is such a Jest, as to take Pity from the Man that suffers by it?

The Earl of *Strafford*, who is so admirable a Politician, that he pretended to have more Wit than the Duke of *Ormond*, prevail'd with his Grace to send a Messenger to *Prince Eugene* to complain of his leaving the Queen's Forces, who were expos'd by his marching to the Siege of *Landrecy*. Thus wou'd he have impos'd on Mankind, whom he must take to be as stupid as the World took some of his Friends to be, or he wou'd not have attempted so absurd a thing. This Earl and *Plenipo*, to shew his Talent at joking on so merry an occasion as the Duke's Deserting the *Confederates*, and abandoning them to be Massacred by the *French*, writes, after the *Britains* had left the Army of the Allies, *There are two or three very soure Faces, who sigh and wish the Hanoverians had not separated from us.* And when he was talking with *Monseigneur Bulau*, about the Danger the Queen's Troops had been left in by *Prince Eugene*; the Earl, upon that General's saying, The *Hanover* Troops would have assisted them had they been Attack'd, Reply'd, *It would be very odd when an Elector of the Empire should be a sufficient Protection for Great Britain.* This jesting Earl was in a more serious Vein, when he told the same General, That the Queen had yet made neither Peace nor Truce with *France*, a Month after the Articles for a Truce or Cessation of Arms were Sign'd, p. 24.

We have seen before what this *Plenipo* was to venture and to undertake. Enough has been said of the Renunciation. We all know enough of *Dunkirk*, for which our *Confederates* were deserted, and the *Confederacy* broken. Let us see how the Ancient Amity between *France* and *England* was about to be restor'd. *Villars* tells the Queen's General, he looks upon him as an Ally: And the Duke of *Ormond* hearing of a Design the *Dutch* had to surprize *Furnes* or *Newport*, as they had done *Fort Knocque*, gives it as his humble Opinion, that some means should be found to inform *Mareschal Villars* of it.

After all that we have mention'd of the Engagements the Queen lay under to restore the whole *Spanish* Monarchy to the House of *Austria*, if we had not observ'd that it was given to the Duke of *Anjou*, one should wonder to hear *St. John* tell *Torcy*, That it is neither for the Interest of *Great Britain*, nor *France*, that the Kingdom of *Sicily* should be given to the House of *Austria*. What Care does he take of the Interests of *France*? As to the Interests of *England*, he knew nothing of them, if he thought 'twas against them to give *Sicily* to the Emperor. It would have strengthen'd him in the *Mediterranean* and *Italy*, and whatever Strength is Formidable there, in opposition to *France* and *Spain*, is for the *English* Interest. The true Reason why *Sicily* must not be given to the Emperor was, because 'twas promised to the Duke of *Savoy* for coming into the Queen's Measures: And therefore does *St. John* say, There is none whose Interest the Queen has so much at Heart as the Duke of *Savoy's*. He must by any means be engag'd to come into all their Measures, and the Queen demands *Sicily* for him, declaring She will not desist from this Demand. Thus it was *Great Britain* that parcel'd out the Dominions of *Spain* from the House of *Austria*, for whom She had so solemnly engag'd to recover the whole Monarchy.

The Duke of *Savoy* had so much Honour, that he was shock'd at the Proposal the Earl of *Peterborough* made him, to accept of *Sicily* in Consideration of his coming into the Queen's Measures. That Earl wrote to the Secretary, the Duke was not so vainly impatient of the Title of King, as to lose or hazard any real Interest for an empty Name. Had our Ministers had the least Grain of Honesty or Modesty, they would have blush'd at what the Earl writes further of the Duke of *Savoy*, He thinks it very Extraordinary, that a Prince beaten Ten Years together by his Enemies, should remain at last with the Prize contended for. Our Secretary wrote to the *French* King, That Care shou'd be taken to protect the Duke from the Insults of the *Imperialists*. We were very officious in any thing that weaken'd the Emperor. The Duke of *Savoy* himself is in no such Pain: He is not only for giving *Sicily*, but all the *Spanish* Monarchy to him: And the Earl of *Peterborough*, before he can bring him to accept of the Crown we wou'd take from the House of *Austria* to give to him, is forc'd to represent to him the dreadful Consequences of falling out: With whom? With the *English* Ministers. A Set of such — that all the World might well be afraid of them. That Sober Earl adds, he had excus'd those Ministers from the

the Reproaches cast directly upon them in the Court of *Turin*, that they were devoted to *France*. Every Body could see it but our *Queen* and our *Parliament*. This Representation so frightened His Royal Highness, that against his Will he comply'd with our Terms of Peace, and took the Kingdom. Our *Ministers* voluntarily offer'd to *Guaranty Sicily*, which naturally would have engag'd us in a War with the Emperor; but would never hear of a *Guaranty* for the *Protestant Succession*, tho' it had been address'd for by both Houses of *Parliament*.

Torcy pretends to be so well acquainted with the then Disposition of our Court, that writing to *St. John* after the Massacre of the *Confederates* at *Denain*, occasion'd by the Desertion of the *British Forces*, he says, he doubts not the "Queen would take Pleasure in the Advantage the *French King's* Troops had obtain'd". For which, had he been Her Majesty's Subject, he ought to have been Hang'd. But as has been said before, he thinks himself sure of the *English Ministers*; of which one cannot doubt, when in Two or Three Letters dispatch'd soon after one another, upon the Rout at *Denain*, he desires, That the Duke of *Ormond* might be order'd to "keep Possession of *Ghent* and *Bruges*; to promote the Measures of *France*; to put a stop to Count *Staremberg's* Projects in *Catalonia*; and to order the *English Fleet* in the *Streights* not to molest the *French*, p. 27. All which was done, and no sooner ask'd than comply'd with, tho' the Peace was not concluded till many Months after.

As the taking of *Ghent* and *Bruges* was one of the greatest Services that could be done to the *French Army*, let us enquire who was the Adviser of it. We shall surely find him to be some adventurous enterprizing Politician; and indeed it is no less. It is the *Earl of Strafford* himself; I am for having the Duke of *Ormond* march to *Ghent*, says he, in Two Letters to Secretary *St. John*. He was then in the Duke's Army; and he adds, The Duke is himself very Hearty, but he has some Fools about him, Men not capable of giving Advice; which he was, and the very same that *Monsieur de Torcy* had given before; but we were come to such a Pass now, that the *French* and We were all one: The *French*, I say, the old inveterate Enemies of our Nation and Religion. *St. John* writes to *Torcy* again about *Sicily*, and says, "Savoy's declaring for U S will be a decisive Stroke, and the more necessary, because the King of *Prussia's* Conduct has not answer'd the Queen's Expectations; he adds, The Queen embrac'd, with a great deal of Satisfaction, every Opportunity that offer'd to do the King a Pleasure". This was upon sending Orders to the *British Admiral* in the *Streights*, not to molest the *French Ships* tho' in Time of War, the General Suspension of Arms not being sign'd till many Weeks after.

Monsieur de Torcy having every Thing he ask'd of *Mr. St. John*, ask'd boldly, like a True *Frenchman* at last, and demanded the *Netherlands* for the *Elector of Bavaria*, and that Her Majesty would make it Her Glory to contribute to that *Elector's* Good; that very *Elector* who was under the Ban of the Empire for his Rebellion against the Emperor in Favour of *France*; that very *Elector* whom She had, by Her Victorious General the Duke of *Marlborough*, driven out of the Empire for his Rebellion. This was too gross, and so much against all the Interests of the *Confederates*, that *St. John* himself hopes *Torcy* will not insist upon it; not on Account of these Interests, but because he believ'd the *Parliament* then in being, as bad as it was, would never agree to it, and it might go hard with him for receiving such a Proposition from a conquer'd Enemy. The Reason why he would have *Monsieur de Torcy* give over such a Demand, was, that it might not cause Disputes between *England* and *France*, whose strict Union, and indissoluble Friendship were the Points in view, to which all their Measures had been directed. 'Twas to unite U S to *France* that the Peace was made; to unite us to *Popery*, *Slavery*, *Poverty*, and *Ruin*. He uses another Argument why the Most Christian King should desist from his Demands for his Ally, "You are not, says he, to *Torcy*, at all Ignorant that this Negotiation was begun and carry'd on upon a Supposition, that the Queen must desist from many Conditions, which in Rigour She was oblig'd to procure for Her Allies, p. 27. Nothing can be plainer. You know that when we begun this Treaty we consulted to break a vast Number of other Treaties and Engagements, and Sacrifice to it the Queen's Honour, and the Interest of Her *Confederates*, and Her People. Very well, Mr. Secretary! However *France* would not agree that *Sicily* should go to the Duke of *Savoy*, but upon an express stipulation, that Great-Britain would make a Separate Peace with Her, p. Ibid.

As bad as the Conditions of Peace were, in the mean time the French Plenipotentiaries refus'd to tell the Bishop of Bristol whether their Master would stand to them or no. They would still have a Rod over the British Ministers, who gave Directions to their Plenipo's at Utrecht, to propose to the Dutch a General Suspension of Arms, when they sent over the Queen's Speech; but it must be remember'd that St. John had sign'd the Suspension for England before any such Orders were sent, affecting to do every Thing separately, to shew his particular Attachment to the French. The Bishop of Bristol, who seems not to be let very far into the Secret, tho' he was ready enough to enter into it as far as they would let him, represented to St. John, "That the Allies complain'd mightily against our Proceedings, as the unavoidable Ruin of Europe. Religion, Liberty, the Faith of Treaties, were urg'd to shew the Enormity of our Ministers Actions". Nay, he says they are so enrag'd, that he was in some fear for his Person. All the Answer the Secretary gives him, is, That the "Folly of the Dutch is the Occasion of all. Tho' they kick and flounce like wild Beasts caught in a Toil, yet the Cords are too strong for them to break, they will soon tire with struggling, and when they are tir'd grow tame". Insufferable Insolence! Has the Dutch Nation such a Character of Fools, that so great a Novice in Politics, and so great a Rake in Morals, could teach them Wisdom? Did not the Dutch know their Interests as well as Mr. St. John? To comfort the Bishop, he says, he need not fear coming to any Harm, for they durst not meddle with a Bishop, and an Ambassador. This Ribaldry is not the only foul Language the Dutch met with. Whoever has read the Earl of Strafford's Memorials would think the French King was at Utrecht again, instead of the Lord Privy-Seal of England. But it was not the Dutch only that he insulted, he falls upon all the Allies, "whom, he says, 'twas necessary to humble, and keep under since sharp Handling does better with those People than the best Words."

As this Earl had laid the Blame of the Duke of Ormond's deserting the Confederates on Prince Eugene, so now St. John bids the Bishop of Bristol, lay the entire Blame of all that has happen'd on the Dutch, p. 30. And this is the most frontless Thing that ever I met with, their want of Concert with Us, with whom we would not Concert, as they had been complaining ever since they heard of these Negotiations. This Bishop and his Colleague were also enjoyn'd to press the Ministers of the Allies at Utrecht, to give in Categorical Answers to the Offers of France, which were such as deserv'd no Answers; and on their Backwardness to do so unreasonable a Thing, our Ministers in England accus'd them of Obstinacy; pretending that Obstinacy of theirs forc'd them on a Separate Peace, the Scandal of which had been avoided, had the Plenipotentiaries of the Confederates done as those of Great Britain requir'd them to do.

Whatever was the true Reason of St. John's being sent to France; whether it was to treat of the Affair of the Pretender in Person, or only to receive his Presents, the Price of the Peace; 'tis certain by his Instructions he was empower'd to make a Separate one; that when he went over, our Ministers did not know the Intentions of France as to several Articles relating to the particular Interests of Great-Britain; however he had full Power to conclude separately, and accordingly did Sign a Separate Treaty for a Suspension of Arms, which left the future Negotiations entirely at the Disposition of France, and accordingly She immediately started a Demand for Tournay by Her Plenipotentiaries. This caus'd a great Perplexity to our Plenipo's, who conceiving it to be as inconsistent with what the Queen had declar'd in Her Speech of the 6th of June, about the Dutch Barrier, they refuse to open the Conferences at Utrecht till they knew St. John's further Pleasure. When the Matter was consider'd in the Cabinet in England, it occasion'd a great Warmth, p. 25. Some of the Cabinet were for making it a Part of the Dutch Barrier; but St. John instead of endeavouring to have it continu'd as such, which he confesses the Queen intended in Her Speech, proposes Expedients whereby the Town might be restor'd to France without the Queen's being a Party to a Thing which was contradictory to the Intention of Her Speech, and indeed to the Words of it. The English Secretary Communicates these Expedients to the French one. Here's corresponding with an Enemy; for as yet we have no Peace: He tells Monsieur de Torcy how Tournay might be secur'd by his Master, contrary to the avow'd Sense of Her Majesty in Her Peace Speech. This he does, notwithstanding France had Nine Months before, by Abbot Gualtier, given up Tournay. For this Advice, in Favour of the Common Enemy sent to his Secretary, he had no Authority; he wrote in a Private Capacity as a Friend to Torcy, and his Master. No

Body as I can find, was of his Opinion but *Harley*, who and himself, *he says*, had great Trouble about it in the *Cabinet*. The Expedient he propos'd, and which was follow'd by *France*, was to lay the Blame still upon the *Dutch*; and for the *French Plenipotentiaries* to declare, That tho' *France* did intend to treat on the *Queen's Plan*, yet the *States* had behav'd themselves in such a Manner, that She did now expect to make an Advantage of Her Successes, and to be paid for Her Charges since by *Tournay*. This Advice did *Torcy* follow, and had not the *States* been Inflexible on the Head of *Tournay*; and had not some large Concessions been made for it to the Elector of *Bavaria*, this strong Town, and the main Strength of the *Dutch Barrier*, had been restor'd to *France*, by the Advice of the late *Treasurer and Secretary*, p. 35.

The Dispute between the *French* and *Dutch* about the Affair of *Mesnager* and Count *Rechteren* was kept a-foot by the *French Ministers* in Concert with the *English*, to give a Colour to such Delays in the Negotiation as they should think fit, P. 31. 32, 33. The *British Plenipotentiaries*, P. 35. reviv'd that Difference for Her Majesty's Service, to stave off the Conferences. Thus did we play in every Game, small as well as great, as if we were abandon'd to all Sense of *Honesty* and *Shame*.

These *Ministers* of ours were so far from having the least Compassion for their Country, which they were ruining as fast as they cou'd, that they sported with our Destruction. One may see what a Delight the Earl of *Strafford* took in the *Libels* that were written against the *Confederates*, and the *Protestant-Succession*, by his making use of the *Cant* in *John Bull*, an infamous *Invective*, written by *Swift* against the *Dutch*, the *War*, in short, against every Thing that a good *Britain* ought to set any Value upon. The *Dutch* in that *Libel* are called *Nicholas Frog*; and therefore, says this wise Earl, in a Letter to *Prior*, If we had a Mind to have *Nick Frog* sign with us, we might. They had no Mind to have the *States* conclude the Peace when they did. They were fond of making their Mistress break her Word, and coming into a separate One, that *France* might do what she pleased with the rest of the *Confederates*, and truly so she did; insomuch, that *St. John* himself was asham'd of the Hardships she put upon both Them and Us. For God's sake, says he in a Letter to the same *Prior*, Hide the Nakedness of thy Country, and give the best Turn thy fertile Brain will furnish thee with, to the Blunders of thy Countrymen, who are not much better Politicians than the *French* are Poets. The Postscript to this Epistle is, I had almost forgot to tell you, that the *Queen* is pleas'd to discharge the *Mareschal Tallard's Parole*, which you may assure him, with my Compliments. The *Mareschal* made his Boasts in *France*, That he had been a main Instrument of the Peace, and as such the *English Secretary* did not fail to do him all the good Offices that lay in his Power.

What Usage we met with from our New Friends the *French*, may be seen by their sending *Cassart* to attack our Plantations in *America* after the Suspension of Arms was sign'd. *St. John* writes to *Prior*, he believ'd *Cassart* was going to *Brasil* or *Surinam*; but, says he, We never imagin'd our Colonies would have been attack'd by him; We depended on the good Understanding which we thought establish'd. But they depended on a broken Reed. *Cassart* took our Ships, destroy'd our Plantations, and the *French* never gave us the least Satisfaction for it. This *Mr. Prior*, Author of that excellent Poem call'd *Hans Carvel*, and one of the best *Tell-Tales* in *Britain*, had got himself into the good Graces of the *French King*; insomuch, that when his Majesty wanted a trusty Messenger to send to *Queen Anne* about something he did not care any body but Friends shou'd know, who shou'd he chuse for this Errand but the *Queen's* own Minister, *Mr. Matthew Prior*; who frankly undertakes to go on his Message without his Mistress's Leave? Thus *Matt.* *Queen Anne's* Envoy to *King Louis*, is now *King Louis's* Envoy to *Queen Anne*: And he carries a Letter from the *French King* to her Majesty, wherein *King Louis*, who about Five Years before shipt off the Pretender at *Dunkirk*, with an Army to invade her Dominions and dethrone her, now tells *Queen Anne*, He has a particular Regard for her; that he is giving her new and certain Marks of his Friendship for her; That he doubts not she will interest her self for the Elector of *Bavaria*, purely for his sake; and that *Mr. Prior's* Conduct is very agreeable to him. *Mr. Prior* having done his Errand in *England*, returns with as good as he brings, a Letter to the *French King*, wherein *Queen Anne* tells *King Louis*, What a sincere Pleasure she had in the agreeable Letter *Mr. Prior* brought her. She also compliments him with the very same Phrase our Parliaments used to make use of to her Majesty, after she had displac'd her most able and most faithful Ministers, Your Consummate Wisdom has taken the most pro-

per Resolution for Peace. The Queen says further, *That the Consideration of the French King's Friendship, would be a prevailing Motive to engage her a new in the Elector of Bavaria's Interest; for Her Majesty had not been unmindful of so deserting a Prince before.* And as to Mr. Prior, the Queen is pleased to add, *In continuing to conduct himself in the Manner that shall be entirely agreeable to You, he does no more than execute to a Tittle the Orders which I have given him.* Thus if our dear Mass should be threaten'd to be hang'd, for having render'd himself so agreeable to the Common Enemy of the British Nation, and their Allies, (for by the Way there is no Peace yet) he may slip his Neck out of the Collar, by pretending, like other such good Men as Himself, that as for him truly he only follow'd Orders. Indeed he may well pretend it, when Her Majesty says in the Close of Her Letter, speaking still of Prior; *Among all the Proofs of his Duty, and Zeal for my Service, I expect in a very particular Manner, that he should take all possible Occasions to repeat to you the Esteem and perfect Regard that I have for You, and my earnest Desire to live with you in a sincere and perpetual Friendship.* Which was to desire a Thing impossible; for the French King was never a sincere and perpetual Friend to any Mortal, no, not to the Pope himself; and why Queen Anne should think he would be so to her, I can't imagine, as long as he had a Pretender to her Dominions under his Protection, to whom he was, and will be, a sincere and perpetual Friend. At the very time that this extraordinary Friendship was a-foot, St. John tells Mr. Prior, the French did not do fair by us: *They press us to conclude, that they may have others at their Mercy; and at the same time they chicaner with us, concerning the most essential Article of our Treaty, and endeavour to elude the Agreement made, repeated, and confirmed.* This was about Newfoundland, an Article so very absurd and scandalous at the best, that I have not Patience to enter into the Debate of the French King's Chicanery. For as long as our Ministers voluntarily offer'd to admit the French to take Fish and dry them on Newfoundland, and to give Cape-Breton, as good a Place for Fishing as Newfoundland, to the French, all the rest is Grimace, and Appearances only. The French were left in possession of Fishery, enough to supply the whole World, by the very Terms we propos'd to them. And the Cession of Newfoundland was only to amuse the People, who had a Notion of Immense Wealth to be got there; but none at all; since the French were to have still as good Opportunities to get it as ever they had, and as we our selves were to have.

We all remember, that the Peace Speech promis'd us Mountains of Gold, by the Advantages that had been obtain'd for us in Trade. We have found, that the main Articles however, were refer'd to be discuss'd after the Peace. Yet Secretary St. John, speaking of such References with respect to the French says, *We have learn'd that whatever is refer'd is given up; as were those Advantages the Speech flatter'd us with hopes of.*

Every Body may well wonder how the late Ministers could be such Fools as to give up the Newfoundland Fishery to the French. But they will wonder much more when they know it was parted with in Return for the Ninth Article of the Treaty of Commerce, which was first drawn up in England by our Secretary, and sent by him to France. The French knowing it was all for their Interest, greedily caught at it, inserted St. John's Article in the Treaty of Commerce, And that very Article for which the late Ministers abandon'd the Newfoundland Fishery to the French, was the same Ninth Article that their own House of Commons rejected.

One would have thought, that after what the Queen had told us, of the Interests of England being provided for by our Agreements with France, and that we had deserted our Allies in the Field, there was nothing material to be adjusted. But all this while was the main Interest unsettled, that of Trade. And France having by our Desertion gain'd her Ends in the Duke of Ormond's Campaign, 1712. did not stick to use us as we deserv'd to be us'd, a Company of ——. St. John writes to our Minister in France, to represent what Confusion may arise, if our Negotiation appears to be still open, and if the Secret comes to be divulg'd, that France refuses to make good in the Treaty the full Effect of former Promises to the Queen.

So much has been said, to prove that our Ministry all along intended a Separate Peace, tho' they made their Mistress declare it was never in her Intentions, that 'tis needless to say any thing more: Or I might observe, that in a Letter of the Secretary's to the same Minister, he writes, *The Plenipotentiaries of Great-Britain shall publickly declare in the Congress, they are ready to sign with those of France, whether the others are ready or not, and that only for the sake of Placentia in Newfoundland, a Town of Note but no manner of Service to us as long as the French are suffer'd,*

suffer'd, as they are by the Treaty, to fish on that Coast, and to dry their Fish there. Again, the Queen, if they then make unreasonable Demands, that is, such as the French don't like, will by the same Measures engage them to conclude, or she will sign without them. There is not the least Scruple in the World made of signing separately. They don't boggle at the Breach of the Grand Alliance, and so many other Treaties which obliged us to Act in Conjunction and Communication with our Confederates.

The French were so tender in every Point of the Fishery, that our Ministers had much ado to bring them to humour, by parting with *Placetta*; and they had also rais'd several Difficulties in other Parts of the Trade-Articles. This puzzled Mr. Secretary to the last Degree. He had gone so far he could not go back; and if he went forward, as the French would have, he must swing for it. The Talk we have had lately of what he deserves, and what will become of him, is no more than he was afraid of in Queen Anne's Time. He treated with a Halter about his Neck. If he did not go thro' with the Treaty, he was sure to be truss'd up; and if he did on the Terms he was like to have from France, no better Fate could attend him. His Friend Robin was in the same Pickle. Torcy does not care for that. He has done his Business by rendring us odious to the Confederacy; and he will not give 'em one Article that's worth the Ink and Paper it takes up. Upon which Mr. St. John writes to Prior in great Confidence; *We stand indeed upon the Brink of a Precipice; but the French stand there too. Pray tell Monsieur de Torcy from me, that he may get Robin and Harry HANGED; but Affairs will soon run back into so much Confusion, that he will wish us alive again. Unless the Queen can talk of her Interests as determin'd with France, and unless your Court will keep our Allies in the Wrong, as they are sufficiently at this Time, I foresee inextricable Difficulties.* In this Letter, he tells Prior how he wou'd have Torcy manage and deceive the Confederacy, p. 39. and engages, if the Frenchman acts the Part he wou'd have him, that notwithstanding all the Clamour which had been made to the contrary, notwithstanding the Folly, Knavery, and Villany of it, as Robin said, he wou'd get Our Separate Peace address'd for, and make the Cause of France for once popular in England. What dost thou think of this, Honest Briton? Here is a British Secretary of State giving Advice to the Common Enemy how to deceive his Mistress's Allies, and promising to make the Cause of Popery and Slavery, which is the Cause of France, popular in England. In the same Letter, he bids Torcy to compare the Articles he had agreed to with the Lord Townshend's Articles at the Hague. And in the next, to Prior; *We die at once, or recover at once. Let France depart from that shameful Expedient by which they thought to bubble us out of the Advantages which they had so solemnly yielded, and all is well, otherwise, by God, both they and we are undone.* This High-Church Secretary is the first who introduc'd Cursing and Swearing into State-Dispatches. But what signifies speaking of a Man's Piety, whom we have been so long tracing in so wicked a Business? The latter Part of this Letter is Prophetick of his own running away. It tells us that the Meeting of the Parliament was put off from time to time, till they heard from France. It has a Fling against the French Protestants, and another against Heaven; for he swears again, as if he and Mall Chubb had been over a Punch-Bowl. *If they do not agree, says he, I may perhaps be a Refugee: If I am, I promise beforehand to behave my self better in France, than the French Refugees do here: Make the French ashamed of their sneaking Chicane. By Heaven, they treat like Pedlars, or which is worse, like Attorneys.*

As great as St. John was with Prior, the latter did nothing without consulting the Lord Treasurer, and as he says, receiving his Commands. In all this French Correspondence before the Peace, there appears no Authority for what is done, but St. John's and Harley's Letters. That Things were not handled in Council, is very plain: Nay, that so small an Officer as Mr. Prior did undertake to promise for the Queen. He writes to the Lord Treasurer, that he is of Monsieur Torcy's Mind, where he thinks our Plenipotentiaries at Utrecht ask'd a little too much about Newfoundland, &c. p. 40. and adds, *This I only write to your Lordship, it being a thing that should not be canvass'd in Council; and I have promis'd that the Queen's Answer shall be such as the King desires.* Thus every little Whifflet undertook to buy us and sell us, without troubling the Queen in the Matter. In another Letter to the Lord Treasurer he says, *Your Friend Torcy is in the last Concern, that the Duke of Shrewsbury's Instructions are not fuller, &c. I believe Torcy writes himself to you.* And in another Letter to the Double Earl he writes, *I daily expect your last Orders.* Again, *Your Friendship for me, by the by, does all the Business here.* Again, *I shall direct myself as*

you

you shall please to instruct me privately. By all which it is plain, that the Earl of Oxford was in the deepest of the Secret of the *French Newfoundland Fishery*, and the 9th Article of the Commerce-Treaty: Those two Things being the Subject of *Prior's* Letters to him.

Notice has been taken of the Use France made of the Dispute between *Mefnager* and Count *Rechteren* at *Utrecht* to put off the Conferences till the Treaty between France and England was concluded by the private Correspondences of Oxford and *St. John* with the French Ministers. When that was near a Conclusion, the Conferences at *Utrecht* were renew'd; but the French Plenipotentiaries in Expectation of our Separate Peace, behav'd themselves so insolently, that the Bishop of *Bristol* himself complains of them, p. 41. But instead of getting any Redress, he receives by the next Dispatch brought him by Mr. *George St. John*, the Secretary's Brother, an Order to sign the Separate Peace with France; all Difficulties being remov'd by the French King's yielding us the Town of *Placentia* in *Newfoundland*, in Consideration of our yielding him the Island of *Cape Breton*, and the Fishery belonging to it; sufficient of it self for all the Markets in the World. Not a Word is said in the Secretary's Dispatches, of the least Care being taken of the Interests of the Allies, but Provision is made for the Restoration of the Elector of *Bavaria* to his German Territories; and *St. John* says, speaking of his present Majesty King *George's* Interest, as Elector of *Hanover*, and Arch-Treasurer of the Empire, which Dignity would be affected by such a Restoration, *Her Majesty does not much enter into the Notion of the Degradation of Hanover, as a Matter of any Importance.* What Friends our Court and Ministry were to his Electoral Highness, our present Sovereign!

It must be said for the Bishop of *Bristol*, that he proceeded with some Caution, and wrote to the Secretary, it was necessary he should do so, adding, *If you were to see how the French negotiate with the Allies, and how hard it is for us to obtain here what to you seems impossible they should make any Difficulty to grant, you would be of the same Opinion.* The Bishop still boggles at Signing the Separate Peace, because the French push'd it so heartily; and the Lord Treasurer, who always put Pen to Paper when 'twas necessary to give the last Hand to any Important Negotiation, was forc'd to write to the Lord *Strafford*, to dispatch the Signing the Separate Treaty out of hand. His Letter is as Eloquent and Perspicuous, as all his Works are. The Reasons he gives for hast'ning their Signing, were to save Charges; because, quoth he, *While this needless Protraction lasts, we maintain 49000 Men by Land, and 30000 within a Trifle by Sea; and the Merchants lie off, and the Faction invent Stories, and the Party hold out, and the Members grow into an ill Humour, by being kept in Town so long idle, &c.* Here's a *Cicero* and a *Machiavel*! He adds, *'Tis the prevailing and universal Opinion here, that France has acquitted her self.* There's Veracity for you: Who would not give Credit to a Man, that writes such News to the British Plenipotentiaries, to persuade them to sign a Separate Peace? He says, every living Soul believ'd *France had done what she ought to have done.* Well, go thy way, say I, and match thee who can. Upon his Letter, the Separate Peace is immediately sign'd, and the Emperor left to carry on that War by himself, which we begun to recover *Spain* for his House. And it not being enough to suffer the French to fish at *Newfoundland*, a Clause was added at *Utrecht* to admit the Spaniards also the Privilege of Fishing there, p. 43. So very careful were the late Ministers of our Trade, tho' the Spaniards had no manner of Right to any such Claim, as was represented by the Board of Trade, the Ministers Creatures; and 'twas point-Blank against a Statute of the 10. and 11. of King *William*.

Having mention'd *Spain*, I must observe that our Commerce Treaty with the Spaniards was manag'd by one *Gillingham*, an Irish Papist, who corresponded with the Treasurer, but his Letters about that infamous Business are sunk. When the Treaty of Commerce with *Spain* was concluded, it was sent to *England* to be ratify'd; and after an unusual Manner, three New Articles added in the Ratifications, which explain'd away all the Advantages of the Treaty, and oblig'd our Merchants in *Spain* to a new Payment of 14 per Cent. whereas the Payment by the Treaty it self was 5 per Cent. more than ever they paid in the Reign of *Charles II.* King of *Spain*.

Thus we have shown what a Clandestine, Separate, Destructive Peace the late Ministers made for us, and how they gave up the Trade of the Nation in their Treaties of Commerce both with France and *Spain*.

We are in the next place to observe, What was the Conduct of the late Ministers in the Affair of the Catalans, who exerted themselves more in the Cause of

Liberty than any Nation upon Earth; and consequently, must needs be very odious to the Friends of France. Let it be remember'd, that it was the Court of England that were the first Movers in the War of Catalonia. The Catalans, tho' they hated Philip and his Government, had Submitted to it, had liv'd under it Five Years, and it was grown familiar to them. Then did Queen Anne send Mr. Milford Crow, who had liv'd a long while at Barcelona as a Merchant, to reside at Genna, Leghorn, or any Neutral Port near to Catalonia; and from thence he was order'd to carry on a Correspondence with the Catalans, to engage them to throw off the French Yoke, and declare for King Charles the III^d. This was done before the Queen had any Powers from that King to Treat with them and Promise them, as She did, to procure the Establishment of all such Rights and Immunities as they formerly enjoy'd under the House of Austria. Mr. Crow was also order'd to offer Her Majesty's Guaranty for the Confirmation of this Agreement by King Charles. Her Majesty gave him Credential Letters Sign'd by Her Self, directed to all the Nobility, Magistrates, and all Officers Civil and Military, desiring them to depend upon the Promises he should make them in Her Name.

After him the Earl of Peterborough, and Sir Cloudesly Shovel, were sent with a Fleet, Army, and Instructions, to use their Endeavours to induce the Catalans to join with them in their Undertaking, and to Animate that People to prosecute their Liberty with Vigour. They were empower'd to assure them of the Queen's Support, and to promise them in the Queen's Name, that She will secure them a Confirmation of their Rights and Privileges from the King of Spain. And if these Invitations did not do, they were to Attack them and force them to a Submission, as may be seen by those Instructions at large, and the Declaration that was publish'd to the same purpose. Upon these Assurances, as King Charles wrote to the Queen, they took Arms; and how well they deserv'd to have those Assurances made good to them, we all know. Every General and Minister that was sent to Catalonia had Orders to renew them, and to promise that they should never be abandon'd. Instead of which, when the Court of Great Britain fell into Separate Measures, and the Lord Lexington was sent to Spain, our Ministers took so little Care of the Brave Catalans, that there was not so much as a word said of their Ancient Privileges, only he was order'd to make a simple Representation of the Obligations the Queen had to insist upon a Pardon for all the Spaniards that had taken Arms by her Invitation, and also for a Security for the Catalans Persons, Estates, Dignities, and the Privileges they enjoy'd before their Revolt. As loose as the Expression of this Order was, 'twas not comply'd with by the British Ambassador; and the Lord Lexington only said, That the Queen pray'd an Amnesty for them, as well as the other Spaniards. Good God! to pray the Duke of Anjou to Pardon those Catalans, who, at our Instigation, had taken Arms, and by our Assistance driven him once home into France again. All that the Duke of Anjou will promise, in Answer to this, is, Marks of his Clemency, provided the Queen will procure the Re-establishment of all the Flemings who had continu'd the War for him, in Conjunction with the French, to their Estates, Honours, &c. After this a Memorial is presented to Philip, and still for an Amnesty only; which is answer'd with an Account of the great Army of Frenchmen and Spaniards that was entering Catalonia to reduce the Rebels; but however, at the Queen's Request he was willing to pardon those Catalans who, acknowledging his Clemency, and repenting of their Error, should return to his Dominion and Vassalage. The Noise the Report of the Catalans being abandon'd made in England, put the Court on assuming another Tone, and the Lord Lexington had new Instructions to represent, That when a General Amnesty was demanded, it was understood that the Privileges of the Catalans were necessarily included; and that this was an Affair wherein the Queen's Honour was extremely concern'd, and that she was oblig'd by Motives of Conscience not to depart from it. So here is a Solemn and Just Declaration, That the Queen was bound in Honour and Conscience to procure the Confirmation of these Privileges, on the Assurances of which they had thrown off the French Yoke. The Lord Lexington writes back, That the Demand of Privileges was refus'd in the most positive Stile he ever met with, except when he propos'd the Cession of a Tract of Ground about Gibraltar. Thus we see to what a Wretched Condition the late Ministers had reduc'd the Queen, from the most Glorious One that ever British Prince was happy in. Her Demands are insolently refus'd, tho' the most just ones that could be, by a King whom a Year or Two before, her Arms had beaten from one End of his Kingdoms to the other, and,

as he own'd himself, *made the Crown totter on his Head*. Philip who had learn'd to Bully of his Grandfather, and understood what Circumstances our Ministers were in, told the Lord Lexington, when he insisted on the Demand for the Catalans, *We know the Peace is as necessary for you as for us, and that you will not break it off for a Trifle*. Our Ministers had directed the Lord Lexington to own Philip as King of Spain upon his Arrival at Madrid, notwithstanding the Peace was not concluded; and after that Step Philip doubted not but he might treat them as the French did: Do what he would with them, they durst not go back. 'Twas at first resolv'd, and so order'd, that the Lord Lexington should not acknowledge Philip, till he had agreed to the Queen's Demands; but lest this should give Offence to France, Lord Dartmouth writes thither to know the Sentiments of that Court, who are highly disgusted that such a Slur should be put upon his Catholick Majesty. Prior writes a long labour'd Epistle to the Lord Dartmouth, full of Torcy's Arguments against it, concluding thus, *The whole Treaty being eventual, this Acknowledgment of Philip as King of Spain would fall as the other Points, unless the Conditions were made good, and the Peace Agreed and Ratify'd*. Upon this St. John takes the Matter to himself, says the Lord Dartmouth mistook the Queen's Meaning, and Lord Lexington is order'd to acknowledge Philip the first thing he does; St. John telling Prior, that it was Natural and Civil; but the Truth is, France would have it so, and so it was; after which the Catalans were not like to obtain much by the Intercession of Queen Anne, whose Acknowledgment of the Duke of Anjou to be King of Spain, declar'd them Rebels; and accordingly some of our News-Writers were directed to treat 'em as such. St. John wrote to the British Plenipotentiaries at Utrecht, That 'twas not for the Interest of England, that the Catalans should preserve their Liberties; to which he adds, That the Privilege to Trade to the West-Indies was much more valuable than all their Ancient Privileges, if they intended to live in due Subjection to Authority. This Matter was carry'd against those Poor People to such a Height, that the British Minister at Madrid, who had a little while before pleaded for them, now represents to the Spanish Ministers, the Necessity of their drawing their Army from the Frontiers of Portugal, in order to end the Rebellion of the Catalans.

It is no Secret, that the Evacuation of Catalonia was forc'd upon the Emperor by us. When the Convention for it was made, the Imperial Ministers insisted upon preserving the Privileges of the Catalans by it; but all they could obtain was, a Promise that Queen Anne would interpose Her good Offices, in the most effectual manner, to obtain the Privileges of the Catalans, &c. The Queen had declar'd Her Self before bound in Honour and Conscience to do it. The Treaty with Spain went forward, was at last Sign'd, and the Privileges of the Catalans abandon'd; the Lord Lexington contenting himself with Protesting against it. True, after he had, according to his Powers and Instructions, Sign'd that Treaty, a Memorial was sent him from England, which our Ministers must know wou'd come too late, and yet they have the Faces to say in it, besides the Honour and Conscience before mention'd, and her Majesty's leaving the Catalans in a worse Condition than she found them, *She hopes that after all the Pains she has taken for procuring a solid and lasting Peace to Europe, the King of Spain will not leave her with the Grief of having been the occasion of the loss of the Privileges of that People*. There the whole Truth comes out; the Answer to which was, *The King does not see that any thing is to be done in the matter*. The Lord Dartmouth, in a Letter to the Lord Lexington tells him, the Secretary St. John had the principal share in the Negotiation. He, good Man, has a Hand in every thing that brought Ruin and Infamy upon us. Soon after the Treaty with Spain was Sign'd, Philip who had seen how far we were carry'd by Honour and Conscience, makes bold to desire the Lord Lexington to order the Queen's Ships to block up Barcelona. His Lordship replies, That he was afraid Her Majesty would think she had done enough to gratify the King, in not insisting upon the preserving for the Catalans their Ancient Liberties. But how Sir James Wishart was order'd to disturb the Catalans by Sea afterwards, will appear by and by. The Lord Lexington, the Day before he left Madrid, at the special Request of Philip himself, wrote a Letter which that Prince first approv'd of, and sent it to the Regency of Barcelona, advising them to submit themselves to their King: And there is one Expression in this Letter which shews, what Use some Statesmen are apt to make of the Sacred Name of the Almighty, *God has not permitted me to do more than I have done*. This was not all, the late Ministers suffer'd one Sir Patrick Lawless;

Lawless, who had been the Pretender's Envoy to *Philip*, to come to the Court of *England*, and present *Memorials* against the distress'd *Catalans*.

When *Wishart* went into the *Streights*, he was instructed to use all "Necessary Measures to put an End to the Confusions of *Catalonia*, and actually to attack the *Majorcans* to reduce them to a due Obedience". These very *Majorcans* who were invited to declare for King *Charles* the III^d, by strong and repeated Assurances given them of Support from *England*, in the Declaration put forth when the Earl of *Peterborough*, and Sir *Cloudeley Showel* arriv'd on the Coasts of *Spain*. There goes Honour and Conscience again. The *French* King, but as for his Conscience and Honour, I don't think 'twill bear Remark, had promis'd, as well as our Queen, when the Convention for evacuating *Catalonia* was concluded, to do his utmost to procure the *Antient Privileges* of the *Catalans*; instead of which he sends the Duke of *Berwick* with a *French* Army to conquer and destroy them, as he did in a most deplorable Manner.

The *Secretary* writes to *Prior*, That "they never took the least Notice of the *Catalan* Agent; and that he believ'd a reasonable Accommodation might be made with that Turbulent People". A reasonable Accommodation with him was little better than *surrendring at Discretion*; and he calls them *Turbulent* on Account of their Answer to the Duke of *Popoli's* Summons, That they would rather Die than be Slaves. This *Bravery*, in an abandon'd People, could not but produce the most generous Sentiments in a *British* House of Peers; and notwithstanding the *Treasurer* had loaded them with a Dozen at once, all Enemies of such Sort of *Turbulency*, as well as *St. John*, they voted an Address to Her Majesty, to "Interpose in the most pressing Manner, that the *Catalans* may have the full Enjoyment of their Just and Ancient Privileges continu'd to them". It was the Custom of the late Ministers, to turn all the Blame of their Conduct on those very Persons who were injur'd by it, as we have shewn in more Instances than one; and the Answer to this Address is, "At the Time I concluded my Peace with *Spain*, I resolv'd to use my Interposition upon every Occasion, for obtaining those Privileges, and to prevent, if possible, the Misfortunes to which that People are expos'd, by the Conduct of those more nearly concern'd to Help them"; meaning the *Emperor*, who had been forc'd by Our Conduct, much against His Will, to withdraw his Army from *Catalonia*. Nothing was done for those Gallant Men but an Intimation from *St. John* to *Wishart*, That he should not appear before *Barcelona*, nor attack the *Majorcans*, unless Lord *Bingley*, who never went to *Spain*, sent him further Orders: This Lord *Bingley*, nam'd Ambassador to *Spain*, had also some formal Instructions to make new Demands, which they all knew would not be granted, had he come in time, in favour of the *Catalan* Privileges.

'Tis pleasant to see with what Frankness *Wishart* wrote to the Lord *Bingley*, whom he thought to be at *Madrid*, to sollicite for some Money for him at the Court of *Madrid*, towards defraying the great Expence of his Voyage. He begs it in almost every Letter; and King *Philip* was surely very well satisfy'd with the Disposition of an *Admiral* who ask'd Money of Him, the first Thing he did upon his arrival on the Coast of *Spain*. When he arriv'd in the *Streights* he sent a threatening Letter to the *Regency* of *Barcelona*, that to fall on them, if they would not make Satisfaction for Injuries they had never done: The Pretence was, their Privateers taking *English* Ships; whereas in Truth, they had never brought but One *English* Ship into that Port, which was laden with *Salt*, and they paid for it more than the Master could have made in any other Port in the *Mediterranean*. Now tho' *Salt* was as necessary as *Bread* for a Town, at that Time streightly Besieg'd by that cruel General the *Mareschal de Berwick*; yet did *Wishart* threaten to intimidate them still further in their Distresses, which had rais'd the Compassion of all Christian Nations, Protestant or Papist, but the *French* and *Spaniards*, People as insensible of Pity, as the most barbarous *Pagans*. The Letter the *Regency* wrote to him while the Bombs were blazing about their Ears, and above half their City lay in Ashes, is enough to melt the Heart of the most Obdurate *Highlander*; yet did this *Scots Admiral*, instead of speaking a Word for them to *Spaniards* or *French* to suspend their Butcheries, till their Affair was determin'd at *Baden*, send away Three stout Men of War to assist the *Spaniards* in conveying Home their Flota; *Philip* himself not being able to spare any from before *Barcelona*. Thus *Wishart* did in Effect assist him with Three Men of War, which

In the Speech containing the *Mr. Secretary St. John's Letter*
Terms of Peace, made the to Monsieur Torcy, the 6th of
6th of June, 1712. June.

I.

I Am now come to let you know upon
what Terms a general Peace may be
made.

"THO' the King of France has
" not answer'd the Queen's
" Demands according to Expectation,
" the Queen will not defer going this
" Day to Parliament, &c.

II.

The Difficulties had been increas'd by other
Obstructions, artfully contriv'd to hinder this
Great and Good Work.

" The Ministers receiv'd but the
" very Day before, an Account, That
" King Philip had consented to the
" Renunciation, for which only this
" Speech had been defer'd.

III.

I have not omitted any Thing which
might procure to all our Allies what is due to
them by Treaties, and what is necessary for
their Security.

" Secretary St. John writes to Torcy
" the same Day, That our Plenipotenti-
" aries had Instructions to join openly with those
of France, and give Law to the Confede-
rates.

IV.

Nothing has mov'd me from steadily pur-
suing in the first Place the true Interest of my
own Kingdom.

" A Fortnight before this, the 24th
" of May, the same Secretary writes
" to Monsieur de Torcy, That the Queen
had been much more Intent upon the General
Peace, than any particular Advantages;
and that Commissaries should afterwards
settle the Point of Trade.

V.

To prevent the Union of the Two Crowns,
I wou'd not be content with what was Specu-
lative, but insist'd upon something Solid.

" Monsieur de Torcy writes to Secre-
" tary St. John, To accept of the Expedient
propos'd, is to build on a Sandy Foundation.

VI.

The Nature of the Proposal for a Renun-
ciation is such, that it executes it self; and
France and Spain are more effectually di-
vided by it than ever.

" Torcy to St. John again, This Renun-
ciation will be null and void by the Funda-
mental Laws of France; and they will de-
ceive themselves who accept of it as an Expe-
dient to prevent the Union of the Two Crowns.

What is said of Settling our Trade of Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, the Commerce
 to the Spanish West-Indies, is all of a Piece, or rather worse in the Comparison
 with the Fact; and as one cannot question, but this Speech was entirely the Work
 of the Treasurer, Secretary, &c. so are they only answerable for all the Mistakes
 in it, whether Voluntary or Involuntary, with Respect to the same is

to be said of their putting into the First Speech about the Peace, " That the
 " *States General* had readily concurr'd to open the Treaty of a General Peace,
 " and express'd a Confidence in Her Majesty "; which Concurrence was only
 shewn by the *strongest Representations* against *Mesnager's Proposals*; and their send-
 ing over Mr. *Buys*, on Purpose to prevent the Opening a Treaty on that Scheme, as
 was done. How they were threaten'd and bully'd into a Compliance, has
 been seen in the preceeding Pages. It was the same Minister or Ministers that
 put into the same Speech a Promise, That Her Majesty " would unite with the
 " Allies in the strictest Engagements for continuing the Alliance "; and again,
 " That Care should be taken of all the Allies, and Her Majesty would joyn with
 " them in the strictest Union ": Again, " My Plenipotentiaries have begun,
 " in pursuance to their Instructions, to Concert the most proper Ways of pro-
 " curing a just Satisfaction to all in Alliance with Me, according to their Trea-
 " ties, and particularly with Relation to *Spain* and the *Indies* ": Again, " I
 " should be sorry any One could think I would not do My utmost to re-
 " cover *Spain* and the *Indies* from the House of *Bourbon* ". We have shewn,
 That Mr. *Prior's first Instructions* were to get full Powers from King *Philip*, as King
 of *Spain*; and I suppose there is no Body by this Time who wants to be infor-
 med, that there is not one Step of this Negotiation of Peace, but what was
Clandestine and *Separate*, with Respect to *England* and *France*; yet did the late
 Ministers insert in a Speech from the Throne, " The World will now see how
 " Groundless those Reports are which have been spread Abroad by Men of
 " Evil Intentions, to serve the worst Designs, as if a *Separate Peace* had been
 " treated, for which there has not been the least Colour given ": Witness these
 Presents.

F I N I S.

4 JA 53
